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ACCOUNT OF A COPY
OF THE
FIRST EDITION
OF THE
"SPECULUM MAJUS"

VINCENT DE BEAUVAIS, 1473

SUPPLEMENT TO *NOTES ON BOOKS OF SECRETS*, PART II

BY

JOHN FERGUSON, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

[Read to the Archaeological Society of Glasgow, Thursday, December 18, 1884]

GLASGOW
STRATHERN & FREEMAN, 145 WEST NILE STREET
1885

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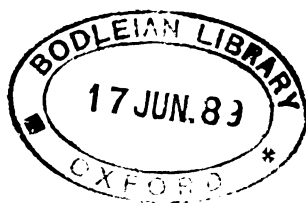
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On a former occasion,¹ and in connection with books on arts and inventions, I happened to refer to the work of Vincent de Beauvais as perhaps the most voluminous of the Middle Ages, and certainly one of the biggest printed before 1501, and I gave a brief account of copies of two different editions of the *Speculum Naturale*. At that time I was in possession of the *Speculum Historiale* also, and had consulted the descriptions by Van Praet² and Brunet,³ but the question as to the date and printer of the volumes did not specially interest me until I completed the work by acquiring the remaining divisions—the *Speculum Doctrinale* and *Speculum Morale*.

It is unnecessary to say that in English there is absolutely nothing about this remarkable monument of fifteenth century art, except a notice in the catalogue of Kloss's library⁴ sold by auction in 1835—fifty years ago—a catalogue that has long since disappeared.

The fullest collation I have seen is by Van Praet. It has been copied and condensed by Brunet, who, however, has not taken the trouble to check Van Praet's statements, and it is followed also by Graesse.⁵ The descriptions by

¹ *Transactions of the Archæological Society of Glasgow*, 1883, vol. II. p. 246.

² *Catalogue des Livres imprimés sur Vélin*, Paris, 1822, T. IV. pp. 290-298.

³ *Manuel*, Paris, 1864, T. V. col. 1253.

⁴ *Catalogue of the Library of Dr. Kloss*, London, 1835, Nos. 3943-45.

⁵ *Trésor de Livres Rares*, Dresden, 1867, VI. Sec. Part. p. 325.

other writers¹ are so vague, and are so defective in numerical data, that they are useless for real bibliographic purposes, however interesting they may be from other points of view. But especially as clearing away some of the confusion which has enveloped the subject ought to be mentioned the short tract of Desbarreaux-Bernard² on the first edition of the *Speculum Majus*. Indeed, it was owing to the perusal of his tract, and the detection of want of agreement between his account and my own copy, that I was led to examine the latter more attentively, apart altogether from its connection with books of secrets. Desbarreaux-Bernard enjoyed the advantage of being able to compare several copies of the so-called *editio princeps*, and he had thus the means of classifying their differences and of observing the relationship of the various issues. But his account, like those already quoted, is both defective in numerical data and erroneous. He, too, seems to have accepted Van Praet's numbers as correct, and he has thus helped to perpetuate very misleading blunders, besides introducing some inaccuracies of his own.

The consequence of such non-agreement among the different authorities is to make the description of a previously unknown copy of the first edition an absolute necessity. And here I cannot but regret that Hain did not live to

¹ Maittaire, *Annales Typographici*, Amstel. 1733, I. p. 324. He had seen only the *S. Naturale* and the *S. Historiale* with the colophon, and says that the first edition is of the rarest occurrence. De Bure (*Bibliographie Instructive*, Paris, 1768. *Histoire*, T. I. p. 247) speaks with uncertainty about it, and simply discusses opinions. Clément (*Bibliothèque Curieuse*, Göttingen, 1752, T. III. p. 77) has a long and very interesting account of the first edition, pointing out its beauty, value, and great rarity; but unfortunately he gives no collations, so that it is not possible to identify the different parts, though it is obvious that they were not all of one issue. The *S. Historiale* had Mentellin's colophon. Panzer (*Annales Typographici*, Norimbergae, 1793, I. p. 18) assigns all four parts to Mentellin, but without giving sufficient collations. In these works references to other authorities will be found.

² *Étude Bibliographique sur l'Édition du Speculum Quadruplex*. . . . Attribue à Jean Mentel. . . . Paris, 1872, 8vo, pp. 25, and 2 leaves of fac-similes. In spite of various inaccuracies and doubtful criticism, which I shall have to notice in the following, I think the author has proved his main thesis that three distinct editions rank under the *editio princeps*. I am not so sure about the proportion he assigns to Mentellin.

complete his *Repertorium*, and give us an exact description of the different editions of Vincent's encyclopædia.*

There is very little known about the author. He was born, it is supposed, about 1184-1194, and died in 1264. He was thus the senior contemporary of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Roger Bacon. The title Bellovacensis, Belvacensis, de Beauvais, indicates a connection of some kind with the town or district of Beauvais, but what that connection was—whether of birth or residence, is not certain. He joined the Dominicans, and about 1228 he was summoned to the Court of Louis IX, acted as *reader*, and may have superintended the education of the king's sons, but his life seems to have been one of unbroken study. The *Speculum Majus* is not his only work. He wrote several others, which were quite enough to fill a large folio volume, printed by Amerbach at Basil in 1481. In the course of his labours he seems to have read and made excerpts from every book he could lay hands upon. Probably this mode of study, begun at first from mere love of reading, awakened in his mind the idea of an encyclopædia which should embrace all that was best in literature up to his time. A similar idea seems to have occurred to the king, and from him Vincent got ample facilities by money and books for carrying it into execution. Ultimately, he wrote out his compilation, but it is said that, finding it too long, he condensed and re-wrote it—an almost incredible undertaking. When his labour is considered, it is difficult to see how he got through such an enormous amount. He must have been one of those rare men endowed with a powerful memory, a calm temperament, never-failing perseverance, and the spirit of order and method.

It does not fall within my plan, as it would certainly be beyond the limit of a paper like the present, to give even the barest notion of the contents

* A most elaborate dissertation on the life and writings of Vincent, with full references to the previous literature, was written by Daunou, and was printed in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Paris, 1835, T. XVIII. pp. 449-519. A separate work was published by Abbé Bourgeat: *Études sur Vincent de Beauvais*, Paris, 1856. One of the very earliest notices is by Guglielmo da Pastrengo, who flourished in the following century, and composed a work which will be considered in the next communication to the Society: *Notes on Books of Secrets*, Part III. This writer is not quoted by Daunou.

of the work.¹ It is the result of the perusal of a vast number of books, and much of its value for the present time turns upon the fact that it contains extracts from books which are no longer in existence, or have disappeared into libraries where they are unknown.

It is divided into three parts called *Specula—Mirrors*, viz.: *Speculum Naturale*, *Speculum Doctrinale*, *Speculum Historiale*. To them is added a fourth: *Speculum Morale*, which bears Vincent's name, although it is probably not by him.² Into that question it is needless to enter here. For bibliographic purposes it must be included, for whether genuine or not, or contemporary in authorship or not, it forms part of the *editio princeps*.

Two hundred years after it was composed, the book was printed. It is difficult to say exactly how many volumes it fills, for that depends on the way the sections are arranged, but, taking these as they occur, it may be divided as follows:

Speculum Naturale,	2 volumes.
„ Doctrinale,	1 volume.
„ Historiale,	4 volumes.
„ Morale,	3 volumes.

This makes ten volumes in all, but, as I have it, it is bound in six volumes. Mentel³ says it is in ten; Van Praet says it is in eight; De Bure enters into an argument to prove that it was in ten; Graesse says it is in seven, but may be arranged in nine. The number is of no real importance.

The first edition of this great work is usually said to have been printed at Strassburg by Johann Mentellin in 1473-76. The reason why it is assigned to him is that his name is found appended both to the *Speculum Historiale* and to a copy of the *Speculum Morale*, and the dates above-mentioned are also found in these sections respectively. The assumption is then made that the other sections which have no name and date were also printed by Mentellin

¹ Details are to be got in Quétif and Échard's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, Lutet. Paris. 1719, I. p. 212, and in Daunou's essay already referred to.

² Quétif and Échard examined this point, and decided against the authenticity of the *S. Morale*.

³ *De Vera Typographiæ Origine Parænesis*, Paris. 1650, p. 78.

about the same time. Desbarreaux-Bernard, however, has pointed out that this assumption is not warranted by all the facts of the case, and he gives reasons for thinking that several editions have been confused with one another, and that only one of these can be strictly ascribed to Mentellin. Before the arguments can be considered, however, it is indispensable to have a detailed account of the book before us. Accordingly, the following is a description of the copy in my possession.¹

PART I.—SPECULUM NATURALE.

Volume I. contains Books I.—XVIII.

Folio 1 recto, column 2, line 1 begins:

Incipit speculū naturale Vincentij beluacēsis
fratris ordinis p̄dicatorum. Et primo p̄logus d'
causa suscepi opis et eius materia. Primū.
Voniā mltitudo li
brorum: Et tempis
breuitas: memorie
quoq3 labilitas: nō
patiuntur cūcta q
scripta sūt p̄ter aī
mo comp̄hēdi. Mi
chi omniū fratrū
mīmo plurimōꝝ li
bros assidue reuol
uenti: ac longo tē
pore studiose legē
ti: vīsum est tandē (accedēte etiam maiorū meoꝝ
consilio) &c.

The prologue is followed by the table of contents of the 33 books into which the *S. Naturale* is divided, and this ends on *f. 21 verso, col. 2, l. 42*:

De innouatione mundi et luminariū celi. cvi.

F. 22 r., col. 2, l. 1, the text begins:

.i. De diuersis mūdi acceptionibus. Ex
libro qui dicitur imago mundi.

Vndi factura quin
q3 modis describitur:
Dicit *em* primo mō

¹ The numerous contractions which occur in the original have been imitated as far as possible, but when for want of corresponding types that was impracticable, their existence is indicated in this copy by italics.

mūdus archetipus.
id ē .principalis et
oīm exemplaris: se-
cundū q ante tem-
pora secularia vniu-
fitas creature in mē
te diuina fuisse legi-
tur. Secūdo modo
dicit mund⁹ primi-

tus exemplatus: scilicet cū ad exemplū archetipi
angelus &c.

The volume ends *f.* 368 v., *col.* b, *l.* 13. The concluding lines are:
quo pacto simul omes eo quo venerant agmine
redeunt.

Volume II. contains Books XIX.—XXXIII.

F. 1 r., *col.* a, *l.* 1:

.xxxix. Continentia libri deciminoni.

to end of book 33, *f.* 8 v., *col.* a, *l.* 25:

De innouatione mundi et luminariū celi. cvi.

F. 9 r., *col.* a, *l.* 1:

.j. De opere sexte diei. Et primo de anima
libus. Guillerinus de conchis.

Ifcibus itaq3 et
auibus effectū
superioꝝ ex aq
creatis: vbi fuit
tenuior aqua:
ex iftorum cre-
atione: et fup-
oꝝ calore est de
ficcata: Sed fup
ficies terre; que
que ex superpo
fita aqua erat lu

tofa: ex calore bulliens diuerfa animalium gene-
ra ex fe creauit. &c.

It ends *f.* 327 v., *col.* a, *l.* 27. The concluding lines are:
perftricta funt. fed latiore in fine speculi hyflo-
rialis. ppatefcunt. Amen.

It is in large folio. Volume I. contains 368 leaves; volume II., 327 leaves. Each page has 2 columns, of 66 lines each. The character is semi-gothic; there are no signatures, catchwords, numeration, initials, head-lines; no place, printer, or date.

There are copies of this work in the British Museum, and in the Bodleian, both of which tally with the above description. The Museum copy is a poor one; it is water-stained, mildewed, tender, and repaired at the corners. The Bodleian copy is in good condition. Kloss's copy also contained: volume I. ff. 368, volume II. ff. 327. Van Praet, however, says that volume I. contains ff. 318. Brunet repeats this statement, and so does Graesse. Desbarreaux-Bernard (p. 6) says: I. ff. 318, and II. ff. 328. I have no doubt that these authorities are wrong about the number of leaves in the first volume. As for Desbarreaux-Bernard's number 328 for the second volume, it is impossible to check it, as he gives no collations whatever.

PART II.—SPECULUM DOCTRINALE.

F. 11r., col. a, l. 1:

Speculū doctrinale Vincentij beluacensis fr̃s
ordinis p̃dicatoꝝ incipit Et primo p̃logus de cau
sa suscepti opis et eius materia. Capitl'm I

Voniā mltitudo li
brorum Et tempis
breuitas . memorie
quoq; labilitas . nō
patimur cūcta que
scripta sunt piter
• aīmo comprehendī.
Mihi oīem fratrum
minimo plurimoꝝ
libros affidue r'uol
uenti . ac longo tē
pore studiose legē

ti vifum est tandē (accedēte etiam maioꝝ meoꝝ cō
filio) quosdā flores p̃ modulo ingenij mei electos
ex oībus fere quos legere potui. &c.

This Prologus contains the introduction and the whole contents of the 18 books. It ends on *f. 14 verso, col. b, line 67*. *F. 15 recto* is blank; the verso contains the contents of book 2.

F. 16r., col. a, l. 1:

.I. Secundus liber incipit.

Omo cū in honore esset nō in
tellexit: quia contra veritatē
femetip̃m illuminātē itumuit
Nam pingui ceruice armatus

aduersus deū erecto collo cu
 currit: & dum ip̄am diuinita
 te3 rape voluit: ipetu suo fru
 stratus & elufus: iniquitatis
 fue pondere quodā ad femetip̄m proruit Ibi q3 pa
 riter infirmitatē cecitatem & vanitatē om̄imoda3
 incurrit &c.

The work ends *f. 402 r., col. b, l. 60.* The concluding lines are:

Quasi q'
 dā quippe est fluui⁹ (vt ita dixerim) plan⁹ & alt⁹
 in quo et agnus ābulet et elephas natet.

F. 402 v. is blank.

Large folio; 402 leaves; 2 columns, 67 lines each; semi-gothic character. No head-lines, signatures, catchwords, numeration, initials. No place, date, or printer. This edition has the curiously-shaped capitals A and R. Some pages contain 68 lines.

The British Museum possesses a large, fine copy of this volume. It corresponds in every respect with the preceding description, and contains *ff. 402*, but in addition it has two blank leaves—one at the beginning and the other at the end, which seem to have belonged originally to the book.

Van Praet's description tallies with the preceding; but he gives *ff. 400*, which cannot be correct. He says it is printed *en lettres de somme*, which is equally inaccurate.

In Kloss's catalogue, the number of leaves is stated as 403. Probably one of the blank leaves has been included. Desbarreaux-Bernard says: "in-fol. goth. de 400 feuillets (404 selon le catalogue du Dr. Closs. Londres, 1835, in-8°)," a statement which contains three inaccuracies.

The Bodleian copy does not correspond in every respect with mine. The following is an account of it:

F. 1 r., col. a:

Speculū doctriale Vincentij beluacensis fr̄is
 ordinis p̄dicatoꝝ incipit. Et primo p̄logus de cau
 fa fufcepti opis et eius materia Capitl'm I.
 Voniā ml'titudo li
 brorum. Et tempis
 breuitas . memorie
 quoq3 labilitas . nō
 patiunt cūcta que
 ſcripta ſunt pariter

vno alo ꝑbendi.
 Michi oīm fratruꝝ
 minimo plurimorū
 libros assidue r'uol
 uenti ac longo tem
 pore studiose legen
 ti visum est tandē (accedēte etiam maioꝝ meoꝝ cō
 filio) quosdā flores ꝑ modulo ingenij mei electos
 ex oībus fere quos legere potui. &c.

This contains the introduction and contents, and ends *f.* 14 verso, *col.* b, line 67. *F.* 15 recto is blank, 15 verso contains the contents of book 2. Then *f.* 16 recto, *col.* a: -I- Secundus liber incipit, &c., the same as in the preceding copy.

The work ends *f.* 402 r., *col.* b, *l.* 60. The concluding lines are:

Qua
 si quidaꝝ quippe ē fluuius (vt ita dixerim) planus
 & altus in quo & agnus ambulet et elephas natet.

The verso is blank.

Large folio, ff. 402, 2 columns of 67-68 lines each; semi-gothic character. There are no marks of any kind. It contains the peculiar A and R.

This is not a separate edition, but a variation. Desbarreaux-Bernard, who has not seen it, is inclined to believe that the variation mentioned by certain bibliographers is due to the confusion of a 66 and 67-line copy. It is not so however. This is actually a variant of the 67-line edition.

PART III.—SPECULUM HISTORIALE.

Volume I. contains Books I.—VIII.

F. 1 r., *col.* a, *l.* 1:

Ecundū Augustinum
 xix. libro de ciuitate dei
 Ordo est pariū dispiūqꝝ
 sua cuiqꝝ loca tribuens
 disposicō. Ex q'bus uer
 bis colligit ꝑ illa ꝑ bñ
 ordinata sunt & dispo
 sita facilius ī locis suis ī
 ueiunt. Et ꝑpte' hoc ut
 ꝑrenti facilius occurrat ꝑ ī speculo hystoriali cō
 tinent &c.

This is followed by the "Tabula Primi Volvminis" down to *f.* 2 v., *col.* b, *l.* 2:

Zorobabel cū focis ī ierl'm reuertitur. iiii. l'. xv.

f. 3 r., *col.* a, *l.* 1, in Roman capitals:

INCIPIT · SPECVLVM · HISTORIALE · FRA
TRIS · VINCENCII · CAPITVLVM · PRIMVM ·
DE · CAUSA · SVSCEPTI · OPERIS · ET · EIVS ·
MATERIA ·

Voniam multitudo li-
brorum & tempis bre-
uitas meorie quoq3 la-
bilitas nō paciūtur. cū-
cta que scripta sūt piter
animo cōphendi. Michi
oīm fratrū mīmo pluri-
morū libros assidue ex
longo tempe reuoluēti
ac studiose legenti. uisum est tandem accedēte
etiā maiorū meorum cōsilio quoddā flores ꝑ
etc.

This contains the introduction and the contents of the whole 32 books. The contents are printed in two double columns, and end *f.* 28 v., *col.* a2, *l.* 4:

Expliciūt capitl'a to-
ci⁹ opis specl'i hīstoria
lis.

This is followed immediately by:

CONTINENCIA-SE
CVNDI · LIBRI.

which ends *f.* 29 r., *col.* a2.

The text begins *f.* 29 r., *col.* b, line 1:

·I· EPILOGVS · DE · VNITATE · DIVINE · SVB-
STANCIE.

Eus est substantia in-
corporea simplex & i-
cōmutabil'. imēsa &
eterna. incōprehenfibi-
lis & ineffabilis. mul-
tipharie tñ utcūq3 no-
mīabilis. nam dicitur
breuit' q'dq'd est. nichil
tñ de ipso digne dici
potest. s3 eoīpō iam in
dignū est. qd' dici ꝑt. Nam uerius q'dem cogi-
tat deus qm' dici'. etc.

and ends *f.* 168 v., *col.* b, *l.* 49. The concluding lines are:

EXPLICIT · PRIMVM · VOLVMEN · SPECVLI · HISTORIALIS · IMPRESSVM · PER · IOHANNEM MENTELLIN.

F. 169 is blank.

Volume II. contains Books IX—XVI.

F. 1r., *col.* a, *l.* 1:

INCIPIT · TABVLA · SECVNDI · VOLVMINIS
SPECVLI · HISTORIALIS.

E abdon & fennen
martiribus. xii. l'. xlix
De adriani impio. xi
l'. lxix. .l'. xc
De adriani morte. xi
De adriano & natalia mar. xiii. l'. lxxxi.
De adriano discipulo pseudo. xv. li. xlv.

De affra & narsia mar. xiii. li. cli. &c.

and ends *f.* 3r., *col.* a, *l.* 60:

De sofina & maria egipciaca. xvi. l'.

F. 3v., *col.* a, *l.* 1:

CONTINENCIA · NONI · LIBRI ·

which ends *f.* 4r., *col.* a, *l.* 50.

Immediately thereafter the text begins:

· LIBER · NONVS ·

CAPITVLVM · PRIMVM · DE · PROMOCIONE ·
CLAVDY · AD · IMPERIVM · COMESTOR.

Ayo igitur cum esset
rome & rediret a ludis circensibus confilio
senatoꝝ interfecto. orta est in ciuitate dissensio
int' curiam & milites & populū. Curia dicebatur
senatores et uiri consulares. Quia igitur

uiderant senatores leuiciam imperatoꝝ & in comoda &c.

The volume ends *f.* 295 v., *col.* b, *l.* 41. The concluding lines are:

EXPLICIT · SECVNDA · PARS · SPECVLI · HISTORIALIS ·
VINCENCII · IMPRESSA · PER · IOHANNEM · MENTELLIN.

Volume III. contains Books XVII.—XXIV.

F. 1r., col. a, l. 1:

Bferuet lector quod in plogo p'mi uo
lumis extat ānotatū . ut si quod q̄sie-
rit nō statim occurrerit in iniciis capi
tuloꝝ . nō ob hoc defistat a querendo . quia p̄se
pe &c.

followed by the "Tabvla Tercii Volvminis" to *f. 2v., col. b, l. 25.*

Yeno impat . xxi . l'. xiiii.

F. 3r., col. a, line 1:

CONTINENCIA . XVII . LIBRI.

Eptimusdecimus liber cōtinet
p'mo quidem origines lineaf-
q3 succcessionis quorūdam re-
gnoꝝ . &c.

Ends f. 3 v., col. a, l. 5.

The text then begins:

.I. DE . CONTEMPORALITATE . IX
REGNORVM . ET . PRIMO . DE . REGNO . ROMA-
NORVM. ACTOR.

B anno primo graci
ani . qui fuit ab incar-
nacōe dñi .ccc . lxxxi .
incipit sigibertus re-
gnoꝝ cōtēpalitatē de
scribe'. i p'ma linea po-
nēs regnū romanoꝝ
in secūda p̄faꝝ in ter-
cia francoꝝ . in q̄rta

angloꝝ . in q̄nta wandalorum . in sexta lon-
gobardoꝝ . &c.

Ends f. 201r., col. b, line 60. The concluding lines are:

EXPLICIT . TERCIVM . VOLVMEN . SPECVLI .
HISTORIALIS . VINCENCII . IMPRESSVM . PER .
IOHANNEM . MENTELLIN .

F. 201v. is blank.

Volume IV. contains Books XXV—XXXII.

F. 1r., col. a, l. 1:

Ygolād⁹ impugnat
xp̄ianos . xxv . l'. ix .
Aldeburgens ecclesie
miracl'm . xxvi . l'. lxvi

Alexii cōstantinopo
litani gesta . xxx . l' . xc
Almarici heretici ge-
sta . xxx . l' . vii .
Alpaydis u'ginis ge-

sta . xxx . l' . xxiii. &c.

to f. 2v., col. b, l. 4. Then l. 5:

. I . DE . IMPERIO . KAROLI . MAGNI . ET .
(sic) FORMA . EIVS . AC . ROBORF . SIGIBERTVS .

Arol⁹ igit⁹ magn⁹ cū
iā sup frācos regnaff³
ānis . xxxiii . p'm⁹ frā-
co² impauit romais
annis . xiii . Cepit aut
āno domini . dcccii .
Mundi uero . quarti-
millesimo . dcc . lxx . di

(sic) uifo a constantiuopo
li imperio romano . euolut⁹ annis circiter .
cccc . & . lxxviii . &c.

F. 213v., col. b, l. 30, the colophon begins:

EXPLICIT . SPECVLVM . HISTORIALE . FRA-
TRIS . VINCENCII . ORDINIS . PREDICATORVM .
IMPRESSVM . PER . IOHANNEM . MENTELLIN .
ANNO . DOMINI . MILLESIMOQVADRINGENTE-
SIMOSEPTVAGESIMOTERCIO . QVARTA . DIE .
DECEMBRIS .

Large folio; two columns (except the contents, which are printed in four columns, or rather in two double columns); 62 lines each. No head-lines, signatures, catch-words, numeration, initials; no place mentioned, but Mentellin printed at Strassburg.

Vol. I. 168 leaves, one being blank; Vol. II. 205 leaves; Vol. III. 201 leaves; Vol. IV. 213 leaves.

The second volume of my own copy wants one leaf in book XIV. containing chapter LXV.—LXIX. inclusive.

The copy in the British Museum wants the first two leaves in Vol. I. which contains therefore only 166 leaves. Vol. III. also wants the first two leaves, and ends on f. 199. Of Douce's copy in the Bodleian Library, the first volume only is of this 62-line edition, and contains 168 leaves, like my own. The remaining volumes are of the 67-line edition, and will be referred to below.

The collations of this edition of Mentellin's given by the different authorities coincide, except in the case of the second volume. Van Praet, Brunet, and

Graesse all give 204 leaves; Desbarreaux-Bernard does not give the number of the leaves in any of the four volumes. Of Mentellin's *S. Historiale*, Kloss had only volumes 1 and 2, and the number of leaves is not recorded.¹

In the Bodleian Library² are two copies of the *S. Historiale*, one of which is in the Douce Collection. I have examined both. Douce's copy is a made-up one, consisting Vol. I. of the 62-line edition as above, and the remainder of the 67-line edition. The second copy consists of the 67-line edition complete.

The following is an account of it:—

Volume I. Books I.—VIII.

F. 11., col. a:

Ecundū augustinū . xix .
libro de ciuitate dei . or-
do est parū dispariūq3
sua cuiq3 loca tribuēs di
spōsicō. Ex quibus verō
colligit q illa que bene
ordinata sunt & dispo-
ta facili⁹ in locis suis iue-
niūtur. Et ppter hoc vt
querēti facili⁹ occurrat que i speculo hystoriali cō-
tinent &c.

¹ According to Desbarreaux-Bernard (p. 8), the colophon in a copy of the *S. Historiale* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, 4 vols. fol., 2 cols. of 62 lines, is as follows:—

Explicit . Speculum . historiale . fratris . Vicentii . ordinis . predicatorum . Impressum . per . Johannem . Mentellin (sic) . Anno . domini . millesimo . quadringentesimo septimo tercio . quarta die novembris.

This, if correct and not a mistranscription for *decembris*, points to two issues of the *S. Historiale*. It is a singular circumstance that this colophon is not quoted by Van Praet, or by Brunet, or by Graesse, and it is still more singular that Desbarreaux-Bernard has made no reference whatever to the December colophon, although it is quoted at full length by all these writers, and is the one contained in the three copies I have seen. My belief is that with *November* lurking in his memory from the colophon of the *S. Morale* a couple of paragraphs before, Desbarreaux-Bernard repeated this word instead of putting in the correct one, *December*. Taking that and the other obvious mistakes he has made, I do not think he has at all fulfilled the promise with which he opens Section II (p. 6) of his tract: "Voici d'abord la description exacte des quatre parties dont se compose l'édition du *Speculum quadruplex*, généralement attribuée à Mentellin."

² I have to express my thanks to F. Madan, Esq., for the facilities afforded me for consulting these volumes.

This is followed by the Tabula primi voluminis, which ends *f. 2 v., col. a, l. 27.*

Zorobabel cū focis I hierusalē reuertit·iiii·li·xv

F. 3r., col. a:

Speculū hystoriale Vincentij beluacensis fra-
tris ordinis p̄dicatorum incipit. Et primo p̄log⁹
de causa suscepi opis & eius materia. Primū.
Voniā mltitudo li
broru3. Et tempis
breuitas · memorie
&c.

This is followed by the Table of Contents, which ends *f. 25 r., col. b, l. 62*—Explicit
capitula totius opis speculi historialis. Then *l. 63*: Continentia secundi libri; and this ends
f. 25 v., col. b, line 67:

De api et ferapi quos colebant egiptii · cxxxi.

The contents are printed in double columns, not, as in my copy, in four columns.

F. 26r., col. a:

I Epilogus de vnitare diuine substantie.
Eus est substantia
incorporea simplex
& incōmutabilis ·
Imensa & eterna.
&c.

Ends *f. 155r., col. b, l. 7*:

Primū volumen speculi
historialis finit.

F. 155 verso is blank.

Volume II. Books IX.—XVI.

F. 1r., col. a:

Incipit tabula secūdi uoluminis · speculi histo-
rialis

which ends *f. 3 r., col. a, l. 20*. Then *f. 3 v., col. a*: Continentia noni libri to *f. 4 r., col. a*.

F. 4r., col. b:

I. De promotōne claudij ad imperium.
Comestor.

Ends *f. 176r., col. b, l. 13*:

Explicit scd'a pars speculi historialis vincētij.

The following page is blank.

Volume III. Books XVII.—XXIII.

F. 1r., col. a:

Bferuet lector qd' in plogo p'mi vo-
lumis extat annotatū . ut si qd' queſie
rit nō ſtatim occurrerit in initijs capi-
tuloꝝ . nō ob hoc deſiſtat a querēdo
q pſepe diuerſe materie & hiſtorie ſub vnico ca-
pituli titulo pſtringunt. &c.

Then follow the contents of the third volume, and of the 17th Book.

F. 3r., col. a, l. 45, the text begins :

.I. De cōtemporalitate . ix . regnorū
& primo de regno romanoꝝ. Actor.

and ends *f. 175v., col. b, l. 44 :*

Tercium volumen ſpeculi hiſtorialis vicentij
ordinis predicatorum explicat.

Volume IV. Books XXV.—XXXII.

Fol. 1r., col. a, l. 1:

Ygoland⁹ ipugnat xp̄ia
nos . xxv . li . ix. Aldebur-
genſis eccleſie miraculū
xxvi . li . lxxvj. Alexii con-
ſtātinopolitai geſta . xxx
lib' . xc . &c.

Fol. 2v., col. a, l. 36, the text begins :

.I. De imperio Karoli magni et forma
eius ac robore. Sigibertus.

and ends *f. 191v., col. a, l. 13.* The concluding lines are :

Et licet iuſtis ſua gaudia
ſufficiant . ad maiorem tamen gloriā vident penas
malorum quas per gratiam euaserunt. Quia qui
dei claritatem vident nihil in creatura agiꝝ quod
videre non valeant.

Speculum vicentij hiſtoriale explicat.

It is in large folio, 2 columns of 67 lines each, printed in semi-gothic character. There are no head-lines, signatures, catch-words, or numeration, and no place, date, or printer's name. Vol. I. ff. 155; II. ff. 176; III. ff. 175; IV. ff. 191.

This edition differs from that with Mentellin's name, not only in the number of lines and leaves, but also in containing the singularly-shaped capital R, which has attracted so much attention among bibliographers.

Desbarreaux-Bernard's collation of this edition is as follow :

Vol. I. ff. 156; II. ff. 176; III. ff. 176; IV. 192.

No other writer, so far as I have observed, gives these numbers.

PART IV.—SPECULUM MORALE.

F. 11., col. a, l. 1:

Equitur Tabula brevis alphabetica
demonstrās quoto Libro quoto Par
te quotaq3 Distinctōne. queq3 ī hoc
volumine principaliter tractata in-

ueniri debeant.

The table ends *f. 3 v., col. a, l. 21:*

Zelus · libro p'mo · parte p'ma · dist · xxxiiii ·

F. 4 is blank.

F. 51., col. a, l. 1:

INCIPIT PRIMVS LIBER SPECVLI MORALIS

N omnibus operi
bº tuis memorare
nouissima tua & ī
eternum nō pecca-
bis · ecc'ī · vii · Hūa-
nū genº tria icom
moda p peccatum
primi homis ī cur-
riffe · non tam legi-
mº in scripturis q3
sensibiliter experi-
mur ī nobis · videli

cet difficultatem ad bonū agendū · impruden-
ciā ad futura puidendū. &c.

F. 211r., col. b. The concluding lines are:

Vincētii Beluacēsis Speculi Moralis
Liber Primus finit feliciter.

F. 211v., col. a, l. 1:

Vincētii Beluacēsis Speculi Moralis
Liber Secundus in quo de Nouissimis
differitur incipit feliciter.

PARS PRIMA · DIS · PRIMA.

This ends *f. 263 v., col. a.* The concluding lines are:

Vincētii Speculi Moralis Liber Secun-
dus in quo de quatuor nouissimis differi-
tur · finit feliciter.

F. 264r., col. a, l. 1:

INCIPIT TERCIVS LIBER SPECVLI MORALIS

Xpeditis per dei
gratiam duobus
libris huius uolu

minis. In quorū
p'mo sapiēs ymo
dñs p sapientem
ostendit assumē
dam esse diligen
tiam agendorū.
cū dicit. In omni

bus opibus tuis. In secūdo hortat' ad habēdā
puidenciā futuroꝝ. &c.

The work ends f. 474 v., col. b, l. 15. The concluding lines are:

Ad quā incomprehensibilem . ineffa
bilem et eternam iubilationis letitiam nos per
ducat qui sine fine viuit et regnat in seculorū
secula benedictus deus.

SPECVLVM . MORALE . FINIT.

This is followed by one leaf containing a tract *De Virginitate*:

F. 475r., col. a, l. 1:

DE VIRGINITATE.

Vm secundū Hieronymū Bernardū
Ambrosiū & Ciprianū virginitas sit
excellētissima i genere castitatis . libet
mihi octo vtilitates quas virginitas facit ea3

and ends v., col. b.

quapropter hunc vigili follici
tudine custodire debemus . & quātoplus hūc
nos habere cogitamus . diligentius custodire
debemus ne perdamus.

Large folio; 475 leaves; two columns of 62 lines each; head-lines; no signatures, catch-words, or numeration; no place, date, or printer.

The British Museum has a large copy of this volume corresponding with the preceding description, except that it contains 473 leaves only. The Bodleian copy contains 475 leaves. According to Kloss's Catalogue and Van Praet, it contains only 474 leaves, but it is obvious from Van Praet's collation that leaf 4 (which is blank, and which is present in my own and in the British Museum and Bodleian copies) was wanting in his. Brunet and Graesse give 474 leaves.

Van Praet refers to "another copy of the same edition in the Bibliothèque du Roi" which has a long colophon stating that it was printed at Strassburg by Johann Mentellin, November 9th, 1476. How many copies besides it contain this colophon I do not know, but there are three which certainly do

not contain it. Desbarreaux-Bernard quotes this last edition only, but his account gives a quite different result, not only from my copy, but from every other copy on record. He says that it contains 676 leaves. This I consider a positive error; whether an uncorrected misprint, or a miscalculation I am unable to say. He quotes the colophon, previously given by Van Praet, describes the paper and water-marks, and then adds, on Van Praet's authority, that all copies do not contain the colophon. Evidently he has seen only this one copy, and has not concerned himself to look for one without the colophon.

The chief points in the preceding description may now be brought together.

The *Speculum Naturale* is in 2 volumes, the page containing 2 columns of 66 lines each. The type is semi-gothic, and is distinguished by a capital A of a peculiar form.

The *Speculum Doctrinale* is in 1 volume, the page containing 2 columns of 67 lines each. The type is semi-gothic, and it is distinguished by a capital A like that just mentioned, and by a capital R of a very peculiar form.

The *Speculum Historiale* is in 4 volumes, the page containing 2 columns of 62 lines each. The type is rounder than the preceding. This section has Mentellin's name and the date 1473.

The *Speculum Morale* is in 3 parts, bound in 1 volume, the page containing 2 columns of 62 lines each. The type is the same as that in the *Speculum Historiale*. There is no name or date.

As has been noticed in detail, the British Museum copy is similarly composed, but the Bodleian copy has the *Speculum Historiale* of the 67-line edition, with the curiously formed A and R.

According to Desbarreaux-Bernard, these differences in the form of the type and the number of the lines are not accidental, but are essentially characteristic of three different editions, and his fortune in seeing various copies has enabled him to substantiate this point. The following exhibits the relations of the editions.

1° The 66-line Edition :—

- Speculum Naturale*. This is well known and is mentioned by the bibliographers.
- „ *Doctrinale*. There is a copy in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève.
- „ *Historiale*. There is copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
- „ *Morale*. According to Desbarreaux-Bernard this edition never existed.

2° The 67-line edition, with the peculiar A and R:—

- Speculum Naturale. One volume of this very rare edition Desbarreaux-Bernard discovered in the Toulouse Library.
- „ Doctrinale. This is well known, and there is a variation of it.
- „ Historiale. This is mentioned by the bibliographers, and I have quoted the copy in the Bodleian.
- „ Morale. Never printed in this edition, according to Desbarreaux-Bernard.

3° The 62-line edition, with Mentellin's name:—

- Speculum Naturale. Desbarreaux-Bernard thinks this edition was seen and described by Maittaire.
- „ Doctrinale. No copy known.
- „ Historiale. This is the common one.
- „ Morale. There is a copy with Mentellin's name and the date 1476, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The copies in the British Museum and Bodleian and my own copy have no name or date.

It has been the general custom of bibliographers to mix up these different issues and assign the result to Mentellin. The arguments against this view were clearly set forth in Kloss's Catalogue and have been more fully discussed by Desbarreaux-Bernard. It has been on the whole successfully shown that the 66 and 67-line editions were executed by some unknown printers, and that Mentellin's 62-line edition is probably the third in order. Desbarreaux-Bernard has further given reasons for believing that the *S. Morale* never appeared in the 66 or 67-line edition, but was printed for the first time in the 62-line edition by Mentellin.

It does not seem to me, however, that Desbarreaux-Bernard has been so successful in proving that Mentellin printed the whole four *Specula* in the 62-line form. The *S. Historiale* and the dated *S. Morale* are perfectly certain, and so probably is the undated *S. Morale*. But for the *S. Doctrinale* he can produce no evidence in any shape, and as to the *S. Naturale* he is only able to infer that Maittaire saw a copy. Maittaire, indeed, saw the *S. Naturale* and the *S. Historiale*. The latter had Mentellin's name and date, and both were printed in a type "Gothicus et satis venustus." Desbarreaux-Bernard assumes that if the *S. Naturale* had been a 66 or 67-line copy, Maittaire would have noticed the difference in the type, and he thinks that the phrase "satis

venustus" applies more accurately to Mentellin's "round" type than to the semi-gothic of the other editions. Maittaire's copy, he therefore concludes, was of the 62-line edition.

I should never think of denying the possibility of a 62-line copy of the *S. Naturale*, but I should like some more conclusive evidence. Maittaire probably never troubled himself about the not very striking difference between the *semi-gothic* and the *round* characters, and the phrase *satis venustus* seems to me more applicable to the type of the 66-line edition than to Mentellin's. Moreover, Maittaire calls the character *gothic*, and part of Desbarreaux-Bernard's argument against the 66 or 67-line edition being by Mentellin is that Mentellin's characters are not even *semi-gothic* but *round*, and he criticises Van Praet on this very point. Moreover, not one single 62-line copy of the *S. Naturale* is quoted by any authority, Maittaire included, and the whole passage appears to me to have had its meaning warped for Desbarreaux-Bernard—by his pre-conceived notion of three distinct and *entire* editions, of which one only is by Mentellin. In the meantime the only conclusion that seems to agree with the facts is that, whether the 66 and 67-line editions were printed by Mentellin or not,¹ only the *S. Historiale* and *Morale* in the 62-line form can be definitely ascribed to him. If copies of the other portions in the same form should ever be discovered, then Desbarreaux-Bertrand shall have proved this part of his thesis also, but until the actual copies or stronger proofs of their existence are produced, this part of his conclusions can be regarded only as a hypothesis. It is just possible that Mentellin for some reason did not find it necessary to reprint the *S. Naturale* and *Doctrinale* at all, but confined himself to the *S. Historiale*, and added the *S. Morale*, which had not appeared before. It is a curious confirmation of the view that the common copies (if such a thing can be spoken about) are those not only which have been described in the present paper, but which are best known to every bibliographer—viz., *S. Naturale*, 66 lines; *S. Doctrinale*, 67 lines; *S. Historiale*, 62 lines; *S. Morale*, 62 lines. Those which occur more rarely

¹ That the 67-line one was *not*, is probably proved by the occurrence of the curious capital R, which is not met with in any acknowledged work by Mentellin. It occurs also in the 67-line edition of the *Catholicon*, of which very rare work there is a copy in the Hunterian Library.

are: *S. Naturale*, 67 lines; and *S. Historiale*, 67 lines. Those which are quite unknown are: *S. Naturale*, 62 lines; *S. Doctrinale*, 62 lines; *S. Morale*, 66 and 67 lines. There must be some reason for this—I do not think that it has as yet been fully given.

I have spoken just now of “the common copies,” but such a phrase is entirely relative, for there is hardly any book less common than a complete set of the *editio princeps* (however constituted) of the *Speculum Majus*. Besides the copy now described, there are only other two in this country which I know of, one in the British Museum, and one in the Bodleian. In the Sunderland Library there were only the *S. Naturale* and *S. Historiale*. In the great library at Althorp there are—according to Dibdin¹—only three out of the four volumes of the *S. Historiale*. After ransacking all the published catalogues obtainable, I have been able to find no other copies. But, besides, every one, Maittaire, De Bure, Clément, Brunet, &c., &c., has without exception alluded to its extreme rarity, and Desbarreaux-Bernard has added that if an occasional section of it be met with, even it is usually incomplete. The present copy, therefore, as containing all the parts, and representing the first three issues, is specially important.

These volumes, however, possess additional interest to their rarity, for they occupy a conspicuous place in the history of printing. They are among the earliest specimens of the art, they are certainly among the first—if they be not actually the first produced at Strassburg. It has been even claimed for Mentellin that printing was discovered by him at Strassburg, but though that claim has been long since disposed of, there is no doubt that Mentellin was one of the first printers. The magnificence of the *editio princeps* of the *Speculum*, in which Mentellin may be said to have a share, shows what an artistic perfection printing reached almost as soon as it was invented. The paper—better than the best of modern drawing paper—the ink, black and lustrous, the size of the page, the width of the margins, the arrangement of the matter, everything reveals the fact that the first printers were artists, not mere mechanics; and when one contemplates these volumes, the expression *regal*, which has been used regarding them, is assuredly felt to be the most appro-

¹ *Supplement to the Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, London, 1822, p. 33, No. 1036.

priate. Further, the *Speculum Historiale* is one of two or (if the dated copy of the *S. Morale* be included) of three books, which have the date as well as Mentellin's name, and if Schoepflin¹ be correct, it is the the first book that was printed from type not cut, but cast.

If it be not nearly so rare as the Valdarfer *Boccaccio*, if it be not possessed of the age and the historical and intrinsic value of the Gutenberg *Bible* or the Fust and Schoeffer *Psalter*, if it be not able to command the price of much more recent and more abundant books, yet as a monument of medieval learning and labour and of fifteenth century art, skill, and conscientiousness, nothing more could be desired.

¹ *Vindiciae Typographicae*, Argentorati, 1760, p. 47.





